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ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

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CONGRESS OF NATIONS.

OUTLINE OF THE PROPOSED PLAN.

BY THE LATE WILLIAM LADD.

1. Our plan is composed of two parts, viz., a Congress of Nations, and a Court of Nations, either of which might exist without the other; but they would tend much more to the happiness of mankind, if united in one plan, though not in one body. A congress of ambassadors from all those Christian and civilized nations who should choose to unite in the measure, is highly desirable to fix the fluctuating and various points of international law by the consent of all the parties represented, making the law of nations so plain, that a court composed of the most eminent jurists of the countries represented at the Congress, could easily apply those principles to any particular case brought before them. Such a congress would provide for the organization of such a court; but they would not constitute that court, which would be permanent, like the Supreme Court of the United States, while the Congress would be transient or periodical, with a change of members like the Congress or Senate of the United States. It is not proposed that the legislative and judiciary bodies shall be united. The Congress of Nations, therefore, is one body, and the creator of the Court of Nations, which is another distinct body. Any nation represented at the Congress might change its delegates as often as it pleased, like other ambassadors; but the members of the court would hold their offices during good behaviour.

2. The Congress of Nations would be organized by a convention, composed of ambassadors from all those Christian or civilized nations who should concur in the measure, each nation having one vote, however numerous might be the ambassadors sent to the convention. This convention would organize themselves into a Congress of Nations, by adopting such regulations and by-laws as might appear expedient to the majority. Those who would not agree with the majority would, of course, have leave to withdraw from the convention, which would then constitute the Congress of Nations, and choose its president, vice-presidents, secretaries, clerks, and such other officers as they would see fit. New members might be received at any time subsequent to the first organization of the Congress, by their embracing the rules already adopted, and the nations sending them adopting the laws of nations enacted by the Congress, and duly ratified before their becoming members of the confederation.

3. After organization, the Congress would proceed to the consideration of the first principles of the law of nations as they are laid down by civilians, and agreed to by treaties, throwing all the light which the congregated wisdom of the civilized world contains on the principles of international law, and applying those principles to classes of individual cases. No principle would be established, unless it had the unanimous consent of all the nations represented at the Congress, and ratified by all the governments of those nations, so that each and every principle would resemble a treaty, by which each nation represented bound itself to every other nation represented, to abide by certain expressed principles in their future intercourse with one another; which agreement or treaty shall not be annulled, except by the consent of all the parties making it.

4. That the progress of such a Congress would be very slow, must be allowed; but so far from being the worse, it would be the better for that, and more likely to produce permanent and useful results. It would not be necessary that each article of the compact, thus entered into, should be ratified by the nations concerned, before the Congress proceeded to settle other points; but the whole, having been agreed on in Congress, would be submitted to the governments represented, and such points as should be unanimously adopted should be considered as settled points of international law, and the remainder left open for further investigation; and thus all the most material points of international law would be for ever settled, and

other points put in a fair way of being settled. The Court of Nations need not be delayed until all the points of international law were settled ; but its organization might be one of the first things for the Congress of Nations to do, and in the mean time, the Court of Nations might decide cases brought before it on principles generally known and acknowledged.

5. The Congress of Nations is to have nothing to do with the internal affairs of nations, or with insurrections, revolutions, or contending factions of the people or princes, or with forms of government, but solely to concern themselves with the intercourse of nations in peace and war. 1st. To define the rights of belligerents towards each other, and endeavor, as much as possible, to abate the horrors of war, lessen its frequency, and promote its termination. 2d. To settle the rights of neutrals, and thus abate the evils which war inflicts on those nations that are desirous of remaining in peace. 3d. To agree on measures of utility to mankind in a state of peace ; and 4th, To organize a Court of Nations. These are the four great divisions of the labors of the proposed Congress of Nations.

THE CHIEF EVIL OF WAR.

BY W. E. CHANNING, D. D.

The chief evil of war ! What is it ? What induces us to place war at the head of human calamities ? In replying to these questions, I shall not direct you to the physical sufferings of war, however great or terrible. Death in its most agonizing forms ; the overthrow of proud cities ; the devastation of fruitful fields ; the impoverishing of nations ; famine ; pestilence ; these form the train of victorious war. But these are not the distinguishing evils of war. These are inflictions of other causes much more than of war. Other causes are wasting human life and joy more than battles. Millions indeed die by the sword ; but these millions are as nothing, compared with the countless multitudes who die by slow and painful disease. Cities are overthrown by earthquakes as well as by armies, and more frequently swept by accidental conflagrations than by the flames of war. Hostile bands ravage the fields ; but how much oftener do whirlwinds, storms, hurricanes rush over land and sea, prostrating harvests, and destroying the labors of years on a scale so vast, as to reduce human devastations to a narrow extent. The truth is, that man is surrounded with mighty